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## SOME UNWARRANTED ASSUMPTIONS IN ARCHÆOLOGY.

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Certain classical archæologists seem too much inclined to give a loose rein to the imagination whenever they enter upon the domain of pre-historic archæology. *The American Journal of Archæology*, in a late number (VIII, p. 247), reprints from *The Classical Review* a notice of Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, written by Professor J. Henry Middleton. I quote from it the following statement: "In the tombs of Ialysos in the island of Rhodes royal scarabs of about 2000 B. C. have been found with Greek pottery of the earliest class, that which is devoid of painted ornament and decorated merely with simple patterns executed in incised lines deeply scratched into the surface of the pottery before firing. Moreover, Mr. Petrie has discovered painted vases of the 'Mycenæ type' in the tombs of Upper Egypt, in conjunction with native objects whose date can safely be fixed between the XV and XII centuries B. C."

The proper date to be assigned to vases of the "Mycenæ type," discovered in Egypt by Mr. Petrie (which he has chosen to designate as "Aegean"), has been made the subject of severe scrutiny by Mr. Cecil Torr (*Classical Review*, March, 1892) and Mr. Cecil Smith (*Ibid*, Dec., 1892), and it will be unnecessary to consider it here. Whatever authority Professor Middleton may have for his statement in regard to the date of "Greek pottery of the earliest class," it is not to be found in Mr. Murray's *Handbook*, in which can be seen, figured upon Plate I, *Vases of the Primitive Period*, and upon Plate II, *Vases of the Mycenæ Type*. It was the latter class of vases that was discovered in the tombs at Ialysos, and these are duly delineated upon Plate II. Upon his Plate I, *Vases of the Primitive Period*, Mr. Murray gives an example, described in these terms: "Black ware; punctured lines . . . identical in ware, shape and

decoration with other vases in the British Museum, found by M. Naville at Katanah, in Egypt, with flint chips and with scarabs of the XII and XIII dynasties. . . . As to actual date, there is no suggestion beyond what may be extracted from the circumstance . . . that scarabs of the XII and XIII Egyptian dynasties were found with precisely similar vases. It is true that the presence of scarabs of a particular dynasty does not in Egypt always imply contemporaneousness in the objects found with them; but in this case the finding of flint implements in the same tombs speaks for the high antiquity of these vases. . . . Nevertheless, a date which may hold good in Egypt need not apply to Greece or Italy."

Certainly it is only a prudent reservation that Mr. Murray makes in allowing that a scarab of an early king may possibly be found in Egypt, or in any other country, together with objects of a later date. This would probably be the case if the ruins of my own house should ever be searched by some future antiquary. But for Mr. Murray the "finding of flint implements in the same tombs" with a certain kind of vases implies for them a "high antiquity."

In *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 25, Mr. Petrie describes the finding in the town of Kahun, in the Fayum, of some pieces of "black pottery, which bear the chevron pattern, with the alternate spaces filled with rows of dots . . . just what was found by M. Naville with scarabs of the XIII dynasty at Katanah . . . in graves many feet deep, beneath accumulations of the time of Seti I, and hence certainly early. Here it is again found associated with objects of the XII and XIII dynasties, and its date, therefore, is almost beyond question. The difficult point now is to determine whether we are to throw back to such a date the Italian black pottery with chevron pattern and dots so closely like this." Finally Mr. Petrie reaches the conclusion (*Ibid.*, p. 42) that, as such pottery is unknown elsewhere in Egypt, "some Phœnician trader we may suspect of importing such foreign pottery (probably Italian)."

Thus it is evident that both Mr. Murray and Mr. Petrie alike fall back upon M. Naville's discoveries at Katanah to establish their chronology. M. Naville has given a complete account of the circumstances of these discoveries in *Goshen, etc.: Fifth*

*Memoir of the Egypt. Explor. Fund.*, p. 21, and I will quote exactly what he says, and leave the reader to judge of the soundness of the inferences that have been drawn from his words.

Near a little village in the northeast part of the Delta, called Katanah, are three mounds. On the summit of the highest one a black granite sphinx was lying, with a "much erased inscription," which "*seemed* to be the name" of a king of the XIII dynasty. "All around this sphinx I sunk very deep pits; and at a depth of about ten feet I found a few large oval urns containing ashes, pieces of charcoal and bones. Some of these bones were decidedly those of animals, while others *might have been human*. In and around each of these urns I found a number of small pots of black and red earthenware . . . Also roundabout the urns I found a few scarabs, two large bronze knives, and some small flints. The little black and red pots are of an entirely new type; but *the ware* of which they are made exactly resembles what is found at Abydos in tombs of the XII dynasty. The evidence of the scarabs is, however, conclusive, since *one of them* is inscribed with the name of a king of that period . . . I could not discover whether the fragments of bone were human or not. If human, it would be important to know that the dead were sometimes burnt under the XIII dynasty, and not always mummified. This would be a most curious discovery in a country where so much care was taken to preserve the bodies of the dead."

Now, what M. Naville describes here is surely something very different from "finding flint implements in the same tombs" with "precisely similar vases," "identical in ware, shape and decoration" with certain other vases in the British Museum, according to Mr. Murray; or in "graves many feet deep beneath accumulations of the time of Seti I," according to Mr. Petrie. In the first place, it is by no means certain that M. Naville discovered any "graves" or "tombs" at all at Katanah. The presumption is rather the other way; and if there were interments there, the conditions plainly point to their being intrusive burials, not dating from the presumed time of the granite sphinx. It is true that vases of a peculiar type were found, but it was the kind of ware of which they were made, and not their type, which resembled what had been discovered at Abydos in tombs of the

xii dynasty. This is far from their being identical "in ware, shape and decoration." Instead of scarabs of the xii and xiii dynasties having been found, only a single one was discovered. Finally, the "flint implements" turn out to be "some small flints;" but it is well established that in Egypt flint flakes, so far from always betokening "a high antiquity," are found in deposits of every age from prehistoric times down to the Roman period.

M. Naville's discoveries at Katanah seem to be scarcely of sufficient importance to support the superstructure that has been reared upon them. He found there a certain type of little black and red vases; but it neither follows that they were "something earlier than 2,000 B. C.," as Mr. Murray seems inclined to believe; nor is there any warrant for calling their type either Greek or Italian.

Let us return now to Mr. Petrie's discoveries at Kahun. The fragment figured by him in *Kahun, etc.* (Plate xxvii, Fig. 202), ornamented with a pattern of long chevrons made up of dots alternating with plain triangles, looks very unlike the familiar "wolf-tooth" pattern, consisting of chevrons of straight incised lines characteristic of the Early Iron Age in Europe, such as are found in cemeteries both in North and in South Italy, of which a specimen is given by Mr. Murray upon his Plate i. So, too, Mr. Petrie has figured in *Kahun, etc.* (Plate i, No. 20), another example of what he calls "black ware." "This," he says, "was also found by M. Naville at Katanah, deep down in burials which could not have been later disturbed. Its age, therefore, seems well assured; and it closely resembles in color, form and decoration the earliest Italian black pottery." In this example the chevrons are made up of incised lines crossing each other, alternating with plain triangles. But they differ in appearance from the "wolf-tooth" pattern, and the ware does not resemble the early Italian *bucchero* ware, black through its entire substance, inasmuch as Mr. Petrie's fragment is of a red ware blackened on the surface. Thus it is incorrect to say that this fragment resembles in "color, form and decoration" "the earliest Italian black pottery."

But Mr. Petrie's pleasing little romance about the "Phœnician trader" (who may, perhaps, have been partner of the one who beguiled the noble swineherd Eumæus' nurse) pales before the

striking picture he has drawn of an early civilization in Europe, in the Bronze Age, whose rise he places earlier than 2,500 B. C., and which he styles the "Mycenæ Period."<sup>1</sup> These ideas he has still further elaborated in a subsequent volume. "Some of the metals were known in Europe before they appear in use in Egypt; the use of bronze is quite as old in the North as in the South of the Mediterranean; and the tin of Egypt probably came from the mines of Hungary and Saxony, which most probably supplied Europe at that time. Iron appears in Europe as soon as in Egypt. The best forms of tools are known in Italy two or three centuries before Egypt possessed them."<sup>2</sup> The only reasons I have seen assigned by Mr. Petrie for the confident belief that this very early culture "reached out to the North of Europe," are to be found in *Notes on the Antiquities of Mycenæ* (Journ. of Hellenic Studies, XII, 204). These are: (1) The finding in grave No. IV, at Mycenæ, of a vase in the shape of a stag, which Mr. Petrie calls a silver-lead "reindeer or elk."<sup>3</sup> (2) That "the amber so commonly used at Mycenæ is proved to have come from the Baltic." This statement is grounded upon a quantitative analysis made by the chemist Otto Helm, of Danzig, of a fragment of an amber bead found at Mycenæ.<sup>4</sup> Two grammes of this amber were found to contain six per cent. of amber acid. This he failed to discover in amber from Sicily or Italy, although it is found in a less amount in amber from Lebanon, Gallicia, Hungary and Austria; while that from Roumania and Bukowina contains as much acid as the Baltic amber. Nevertheless, Herr Helm is of the opinion that the amber from these latter countries can "easily be distinguished from it by color, hardness and disintegrated layer." The reader must judge for himself whether this amounts to "proof" that the amber beads found at Mycenæ actually came from the Baltic. (3) The next reason assigned by Mr. Petrie is the resemblance which the style of decoration employed at Mycenæ bears to "Celtic" ornament. (4) His final argument is drawn from the analogy between certain knots or

<sup>1</sup> *The Egyptian Bases of Greek History*, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, XI, 277.

<sup>2</sup> *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> See *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tiryns*, p. 372.

ties, made of a green glazed pottery (which probably represent the fastenings to draperies hung on the walls at Mycenæ), to what has been found in "great Scandinavian tumulus chambers of a later age, which were likewise lined with hangings." These are all the arguments I have seen relied on by Mr. Petrie to sustain his novel theory that the Bronze Age originated in the North of Europe 2,500 B. C. Nowhere has he brought forward any evidence, so far as I am aware, that the tin used in the Bronze Age was derived from mines in Hungary and Saxony, which at the present day, certainly, do not count for much in the world's supply of that metal.

HENRY W. HAYNES.

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